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SAINT GEORGE

A NATIONAL REVIEW DEALING WITH LITERATURE, ART, EDUCATION,
AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS IN A BROAD AND PROGRESSIVE SPIRIT.

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No. 43. Vol. XI.

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THE WORKHOUSE

BY THE REV. CANON S. A. BARNETT.

THE workhouse is the terror of the poor. The thought of it haunts the young home maker, lest by illness or by loss of work he and his be driven to its shelter. The fear of it makes the old endure hardship and semi-starvation rather than apply for admission.

Why, it may be asked, does such terror exist? The workhouse offers warmth and food and cleanliness. Every inmate has a bed with sufficient covering, clothes for indoor and for outdoor wear, and regular meals arranged under medical authority. There is enough work for exercise, and there is ample leisure for talk and for sleep. There is a doctor in attendance ready to provide everything in case of illness, and at stated periods every one who does not lose the privilege by misconduct has the right to go out for a few hours to visit friends.

What is the hardship that people who have lost everything should have such means freely provided? Why is the workhouse a terror? The answer lies in a word—the workhouse

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stands for the punishment of poverty. It is akin to a prison, and its inmates feel themselves treated as criminals, when they have committed no crime.

The Reformers of 1834, who invented the workhouse, faced a condition of things which had been brought about by the Elizabethan system of Poor Law relief. When the State assumed the whole responsibility "for the relief of the impotent and the getting to work of those able to work," and when by Gilbert's Act in 1827 it was further enacted that out-relief should be made "obligatory for all except the sick and impotent," it followed that larger and larger numbers threw themselves on the State for their support. Relief offered a better living than work. The number of workers decreased, the number receiving relief increased. Ruin threatened the nation, and so the Reformers of 1834 felt that the *one* thing necessary was to force the people to choose work instead of seeking relief. They required that every applicant for relief should give evidence of destitution, they refused relief to able-bodied persons except on the sacrifice of their liberty, and they made the form of relief as unpleasant or as deterrent as possible.

The Reformers, therefore, with a view to spurring the people to effort, and partly perhaps with the thought of punishing the idle, invented the workhouse, and shaped it after the model of a prison. The building was always of a gloomy and severe order. A porter in uniform like a prison warder opened and closed the door—the rooms were called "wards"—a "workhouse" dress was enforced, and the work, strictly supervised, was "a task," chosen not because of its use, but because of its distastefulness. There was a crank to turn, or stones to break, or oakum to pick.

This system has been followed during the last seventy years, and the latest so-called improvement is to impose on a "casual" solitary confinement in a cell, in which he is locked with a heap

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of stones, which he must break small enough to throw through a grating at the end of his cell. The workhouse has been made to look like a prison, and its discipline has been modelled on that of the prison.

The harshness of the new Poor Law roused at the time loud protests, which are echoed in the literature of the day, but the harshness may have been necessary. The nation required a sharp spur, and no doubt under its pressure there was a marvellous recovery. Men who had been idle sought work, men who had saved realized that their savings would no longer be swallowed up in the rates. The spur and the whip had their effect, but the workhouse still continues to be a terror to those who have no need of spur and whip.

The Reformers of 1834 looked out on a society weakened by idleness, they faced a condition of things in which the chief thing wanted was energy and effort, and so they applied a stimulus.

The Reformers of to-day look out on a different society, and they look with other eyes. They see that the weak and the poor are not altogether suffering the penalty of their own faults. It is by others' neglect that uninhabitable houses have robbed them of strength, that wages do not provide means of living, and that education has not fitted them either to earn a livelihood or to enjoy life. The Reformers of to-day, under the subtle and often unacknowledged influence of the Christian spirit, have learnt that self-respect, even more than a strong body, is a man's best asset, that willing work rather than forced work makes national strength, that terror is mischievous and that force is no remedy.

The "workhouse" as a place of punishment is thus out of place in modern society. It is not punishment, it is training which the people need, and it is not a whipping, but sympathy, which their brothers should provide. The workhouse to-day rouses resentment. The working classes, who dread it as a

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terror, are conscious that it is unjust that they should be punished for misfortune, the inmates who are forced to seek its shelter are in an attitude of antagonism. They are sullen, wasteful of their food, discontented, and set on doing as little work as possible. Many, indeed, having lost all self-respect, have become habitués, and, so far from avoiding the place, rely on the help it affords. There is no sadder sight than that offered by a ward in a workhouse. In its deadly cleanliness men and women are gathered without human interest and without hope. They feel themselves to be not wanted, a mere burden on the rates, whose death means gain. Unloved by man, they hardly believe in the love of God. The workhouse has thus to a large extent become a centre of degradation, and when it is remembered that in the workhouses, under the influence of their resentful and often degraded inmates, there remain still some 22,000 children, the need of some change will be recognized.

The necessary change, it seems to me, is that the workhouse should now be modelled not on a prison but on a school, and that its object should be not punishment but training. This change would at once commend itself to the national conscience. The people who, on account of weakness or of ignorance or of the fluctuations of trade, have missed their vocation, would be given a chance of reinstating themselves. The people who are idle, and refuse to take advantage of the opportunity, would be justly detained, so that they might, during two or three years under discipline, learn something of the pleasure or profit of work.

The workhouses would, in fact, become Adult Industrial Schools, with workshops or with farms attached. There would be no suggestion of prison treatment, but there would be, as in schools, fixed hours for work, and for those who did not work there would be "keeping in" for long periods, in which the lessons would have to be learned.

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This Adult Industrial School would, I believe, serve the object of the Reformers of 1834, and be as deterrent as the prison system then invented. The thought of learning, the limitation of time for gossip, and the atmosphere of work would be effective in preventing too easy a resort to its shelter. The inveterate idler prefers punishment to training, because he adapts both his body and conscience to its infliction. He cannot so easily settle down in a school, which makes fresh and fresh calls on effort, and aims at bringing out the best in every one. Task work sets up a spirit of rebellion. Work which has an object, which unconsciously carries on the mind of the worker to something done, enlivens his mind, and raises his self-respect.

The workhouse of to-day helps to demoralize society. Its harshness sets up among the poor a sense of unjust treatment, and encourages the rich, by doles of food, by shelters, and by free breakfasts, to save the poor from seeking its shelter. The sense of injustice poisons opinion, and is accountable for an attitude towards the present governing classes which in its turn is unjust. It is no wonder that when the poor think themselves to be punished for their poverty they should be sympathetic with any proposal which offers them more wealth. The sense of injustice is often the source of unjust acts. The harshness of the workhouse in like manner demoralizes the charity of the rich, leading it aside from remedial action to actions which encourage idleness and hypocrisy. It is no wonder that the rich man who sees a starving neighbour hesitates to send him to a place of punishment—he gives him a shilling, subscribes to a shelter, and encourages begging.

If the workhouse were known to be a means by which those who had lost their way in industrial life could be again placed in the way, the working classes would recognize the justice which would convict the unwilling to periods of detention, and the richer classes would refuse to let their relief stand between

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the beggar and the means which would restore him to self-respecting ways of living.

The spirit of Christ requires that the Christian community should act as a community to raise the fallen. Thought without love is often brutal, and the thought which aimed only to spur the idle has brutalized many natures. But love without thought is weakness, and the love which gives food for the asking, and aims to make relief as pleasant as possible, has simply increased poverty and wretchedness. The raising of the fallen is still the greatest of problems, and it still demands the love which is most costly. Maybe, this is the love which thinks, because nothing helps so much and involves such sacrifice as thought. The success of the effort about to be made to reform the Poor Law depends, I suggest, on a public opinion which is directed by thinking love.

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE WORKING FOLK.*

By J. LEWIS PATON.

A FEW weeks since a member of Parliament, who represents a colliery district of Lancashire, speaking in the House of Commons on the question of Continuation Schools, warned the Government against the reckless increase of educational facilities which was going on at the present time. "There was," he said, "a technical college at Wigan, probably the finest mining and technical college in the kingdom, and the result was that almost everybody was taught mining, and the value of skill and technical knowledge in mining was going down day by day. The pits were swarming with educated men, and their social status was decreasing." †

If this were only true, it would be one of the most hopeful things for our country that we have heard for long enough. The more the value of skill and technical knowledge goes down day by day, down the pits, and all the other places where men work in their shirt-sleeves, the more the national welfare will go up. I could not help thinking, as I read the words, how it was down a coal-pit from the conversation of two coal miners that the fire of enthusiasm for higher education was first kindled in the black-skinned laddie, Mr. Booker Washington, who since that day has done more than any one else to solve the most difficult question which confronts the United States at the present time.

Perhaps one great educational achievement is as much as a nation can accomplish at once, and now that the movement for

* The Founders' Oration delivered at University College, London, on 4th June, 1908.

† *Hansard*, 5th May, 1908, p. 162.

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technical education, which began in the fifties, has been so thoroughly developed, and technical knowledge has broadened down in so satisfactory a manner that the pits are swarming with technically educated men, perhaps the nation may address itself to another educational achievement, no less in magnitude and importance than the other, the popularisation of the older liberal culture that forms the imagination, ennobles the ideas and humanises life—a culture which has not yet been cheapened, which has still far more social status than is good for it, which does not swarm in the pits and workshops and factories and back alleys of England.

We are living in the confluence of these two great educational tides. On the one hand, the movement for scientific education has worked from the bottom upwards. It has sprung out of the needs of man's occupation and livelihood. The production of commodities was unable to keep pace with the world's demand and to face the competition of other countries without the aid of the physical sciences. Hence in the last half-century the growth of Colleges of Science, Schools of Technology and Polytechnics, associated with the names of famous men who have raised the study of science to full academic status. On the other hand, we have the old literary culture, with the tradition of a thousand years, fostered by old endowments, and enriching the national life with the atmosphere of philosophic thought, artistic taste, high poetic feeling for the things which are more excellent. This movement of liberal culture begins at the top, and so far as it may be said to move at all, it moves in the opposite direction to the other, from the top downwards. Both these great educational movements have been suffering in the past by the separateness of their development. The newer scientific culture, through lack of the humanising, mellowing influence of the older tradition, has still clinging to it something narrow, hard, crude, and gritty. The older literary culture has suffered from its aloofness; it has stood

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apart from the life of the common people, it has been shut off from the great expansion of material wealth and progress which mark the last century of national effort. Now both these tides, if I may so call them, converge in our Universities. The older Universities, in origin mainly linguistic and literary, have taken to their bosom the hard-grained muses of the test-tube and the engine-room ; and the newer Universities, in origin mainly scientific and technical, have not been less eager to take to their bosom the fair muses of poetry and art and history and philosophy. The smoke of the engineering workshop hangs out its long-drawn pennon, the symbol of modernity, over the dreamy spires of Oxford ; and in the sooty atmosphere of Manchester we build a glass-house conservatory wherein to foster the delicate bloom of literature.

So far, so good. Nothing but good can result from the mutual interaction, the cross-fertilisation of these two diverse forms of learning. But one great work remains to be accomplished, and it is to this that I invite your attention this evening. Of the scientific and technical learning we may say that it has successfully worked its way upwards, from the humble school of science to the full academic status, from the lower social stratum to the highest. But of literary culture the converse does not hold true. It has been and it still is in England the appanage of the leisured classes ; it is for those who can afford it, not for those who have capacity to receive it ; it is still the privilege of the gentleman, in the social acceptance of the term ; the arts course, at any rate, at the older Universities is supplied by the scholars from the public schools, and the public school may be defined as a school which excludes all the sons of manual workers and everything that could fit a man for earning his living with his hands. In short, we have accomplished as yet only half of our work, we have turned the hearts of the children to the fathers, we have not yet turned the hearts of the fathers to the children.

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I shall be met at once with objections. First, have we not a great system of scholarships, which makes it possible for any boy to climb from the lowest elementary school to the highest pinnacles of University fame? Truly, we have had much erecting of scholarship ladders and casting of scholarship nets. Far be it from me to say anything derogatory of the system; it has its faults, but in the main it does secure the open career for talent, and I suppose Professor Marshall is right when he estimates that half of the nation's genius is in her working people. But the pity of it is that the movement of the scholarship system is all in one direction; the poor boy who wins his way with scholarships lifts himself out of the class to which he belongs by birth. He never dons the corduroys again or returns to the russet-coated captains; he has ceased to earn wages and draws a salary. He is not educated in his class, he is educated out of it. I do not blame him, I do not blame anybody; if poor lads go up singly as they do now to the University, I do not see how it can be otherwise. Only, in this way the working class is continually being drained of those who would otherwise become their natural leaders, directing their social and political activities, leavening their life with a higher idealism, and setting the tone for higher things. The scholarship system takes the poor boy up to the University, but it does not bring the University down to the poor; it enables the promising boy to rise, but it does not thereby raise the class to which he belongs. I fear that the taunt of "Getting on" affects the whole of our scholarship system, the very element of £ s. d. in which it expresses itself poisons its purity at the source. I remember well setting to a class of boys, largely composed of scholarship holders, an essay to write on the lines—

Unless above himself he can
Erect himself, how poor a thing is man.

Nearly every boy interpreted this as meaning, "Unless he can

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erect himself above other people, and in effect above the state of life into which he was born, it's a poor look out for him."

But I shall be told that the University Extension Lectures fulfil precisely the function of which I have been speaking, they bring the University to the people. Let me say at once that any further departure which may now be proposed can be realised only, if at all, through the work which the University Extension Movement has been doing for the last thirty-six years, and let us acknowledge to the full the honourable share which this college has taken in the work. "Apart from their directly educational influence," as Professor Sadler says, "the University Extension Lectures and Classes have been one, and not the least important, of the causes which have produced in England a changed attitude of mind towards University work, and a new sense of its value as an element in national life."* It is, indeed, astonishing, when one comes to think of it, what University Extension has been able to do without any endowments, and with but the slenderest financial support. What other educational agency in our country has a record equal to it? But it has not been able to accomplish everything. It began as a movement for the benefit of the working class, but its great expansion has not been along that social plane. Economic difficulties have made against that, chill penury has repressed its noble rage, and only in places where working-class organisations, notably the co-operators, as at Oldham, have to a large extent managed it and subsidised it, can the movement be said to have been a success with the working folk. Again, University Extension, from the nature of the case, has not been able to give the best element of a University life, that in which our two older Universities confessedly excel all others—the social intercourse, the "manifold collision and communication" of ingenuous growing minds one with the other. A University is essentially a place of men more than of books. Of a

* *Continuation Schools*, p. 79.

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University more than any other form of community Carlyle's dictum is true that "soul grows in contact with soul." That contact of soul with soul University Extension cannot give, and, failing to give that, it fails to give the best. No mere occasional lecturing can create the sense of fellowship which is the atmosphere for true education to grow in, "the informal education which young men give to each other . . . among the most vital of all the elements in University training" (Sir Richard Jebb, British Association, Cape Town).

I shall be told that these causes which I have specified are merely secondary, and the real primary cause is the lack of effectual demand for higher education among the working classes themselves. This I decline to accept, and for the following reasons. Wherever the work has been undertaken in the spirit of brotherhood, it has never failed of success. Witness the fifty-four years' record of growing usefulness and activity at the Working Men's College; witness the work of Ruskin College at Oxford, and the support it has received from the Labour organisations; witness the rapid upgrowth of the Workers' Educational Association, and the unceasing efforts and sacrifices which the co-operators have been making from before the days of Toynbee in the cause of higher education. Witness also the great national institution of Wales, the Eisteddfod. What a proof you have there of the spontaneous hunger for the higher culture of their being on the part of a people, most of whom are poor and many of whom have a hard struggle for their daily bread, a people until yesterday almost destitute of opportunities for higher education. Thousands of them belonging mainly to the poorer class, sit quietly hour after hour listening, with unabated interest, to competitions in music, singing and literature. We have to go back to Athens to find a parallel to that. These are solid and unshakable facts. But even if there were no such facts to warrant our faith, even if hitherto all ventures had been failures, even if there were

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no signs of effectual demand, then still none the less it would be the duty of the Universities to create it,—or rather, I would say, to evoke it; for deep down and latent in every man, whatever his condition, is the power of thought, and wherever God gives faculty, God does not mean that faculty to fust in us unused. Inevitably on a question of this kind one falls back on one's own personal experience. I have read Plato and Shakespeare, and Sir Thomas More and Ruskin, with circles of working folk; I have examined classes held in London here, not in connexion with the Working Men's College, on such subjects as Livy and Thucydides, read, of course, (like More) in translation; I have found the signalman in his cabin in the lone watch on Sunday afternoon reading Godet on the Gospel of S. John; I have known the sailor before the mast who laid in the last number of *Fors Clavigera* before he sailed for the Antipodes; I have been astounded at the compositor's enthusiasm for Byron, the gardener's keen interest in Biblical research and exploration, the light porter of Piccadilly's love for William Wordsworth, and, believe me, I have found, in proportion to my own experience, quite as much disinterested love for liberal culture among the poor as I have among those who are better off. How many would there be left in this College, how many in Oxford and Cambridge, if we eliminated from the number of the undergraduates those whose motive of study was—I will not say sordid, but illiberal—the desire to pass this or that examination, to gain this or that post in the Civil Service, to qualify for this or that profession, to rise in social status, to acquire power and position? Among the working folk, when they read the humanities, there is not at any rate any such alien admixture of motive as this. In a large art class at the Working Men's College, not long since, I found not one single pupil who was taking up drawing with a view to bettering his position, each man was pursuing the beautiful for its own sake, because he loved it. In the same way Mr. Owen

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M. Edwards, some years since, said that among those who wrote the most thoughtful articles for his magazine *Cymru*, were quarrymen and labourers, and, he says, "the man who writes the most graceful bits for me is a labourer, working hard and contentedly on a farm for one shilling a day." It would be easy to multiply instances, and to me personally it would be pleasant, but I fear to my hearers it would be wearisome; and I hope in a college founded by Lord Brougham it is not necessary to labour the point, or to argue elaborately, that no class has any right to claim the monopoly of thought and hold the other classes of the community in intellectual vassalage. True it is that certain individuals are marked out by Nature for the student's life. But the duty of such is not to do other men's thinking for them, it is to help other men to think more efficiently and fruitfully for themselves. "Of all treasons against humanity," says Channing, "there is none worse than his who employs great intellectual force to keep down the intellect of his less-favoured brother."

Nor must it be thought that the advantage is all on the one side. The University cannot share her best gifts without herself becoming enriched with a blessedness beyond that of the receiver. A University which is national in name will gain immensely in inward power when she becomes national in reality. See how at the present moment the training she gives her sons is crippled in its efficiency by the caste conditions imposed on her by society. This young man, destined for the Church, bred up with infinite pains and expense in the walled-in garden of the Public School, and passing thence to the University, where he meets again none save those of his own class,—however successful he may be in his bookish studies, however devout in his personal life,—in what sense is he being prepared to be a pastor of the poor? What chance does his training give him to know their mind, their speech, their habits, their circumstances, their needs, and their aspirations? This young

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engineering student may know all about steel and steam, and mechanics, but when he comes to the workshop he will find, as George Stephenson found, that there is nothing after all so hard to engineer as men, and there has been nothing in his social experience as yet to give him the remotest idea of what the conditions of that human problem are. This young historian finds when he comes to close grips with his subject that the whole interest of history lies in the fortunes of the poor; if all he knows of the poor is what he sees from an overhead railway or hears in a charity sermon, he will no more be able to conceive of the true course of historic movements than a German professor can conceive of the live working of free institutions. This young aspirant to parliamentary honours may go on piling up Blue Books on his brain until his brain is unable to move, but if he is divorced from the actuality of things, if he has never had personal and intimate relations with real working folk, his Blue Books will not help him much to the solution of his country's problems. I speak with due deference, but I believe there is not a single faculty which would not gain in practical efficiency if the students daily rubbed shoulders and interchanged ideas with thoughtful young men from the artisan class of their own age who see life from a different angle altogether. Cecil Rhodes saw what a vast benefit it would be to Oxford to open her gates to men of our over-sea colonies and different races from our own. No one now questions the gain in healthy-mindedness and breadth of outlook which this innovation has brought into the University of Oxford. Believe me, the expense would be less and the gain would be greater to any University which would open wide its doors and its opportunities of culture to men of a different class and a different life-experience from our own. We are all of us alive to the benefits of travel; any schoolboy is ready to expatiate on the topic. But the working folk of our own country are further removed from us than the respectable

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foreigner with whom we consort on our continental trips, they are less known, and though foreign travel may, as Lord Hugh Cecil put it, "elongate the conversation," the exploration of our poorer strata of society in both country and town would in a more real sense broaden the mind. After all, this is not philanthropy, this is the scientific way of doing things, the only scientific way. The great problems of our time are human problems, vaster, more complex, and more baffling than any that ever confronted any previous generation of Englishmen. To solve the problems of Nature, you question Nature. To solve the problems of humanity, you must question man. To conquer Nature, you must obey her. To master these social problems of humanity, you must obey the instinct of humanity.

Personally, I am inclined to go one step further, and here I do not feel at all sure how far I shall carry my audience with me, especially when it comes to the practical application. I should say that to know the real social problem, one should not only rub shoulders with the working man, one should work alongside him and know him at his work. Manual labour should form part of every man's training, as domestic labour should form part of every girl's. Society would be healthier and more brotherly if its hard and menial work could be shared to some degree by all its members. This is a doctrine as ancient as the hills; it is as old as the Rabbis and as recent as Ruskin, but there is not yet much sign of its being carried out. Yet apart from it I do not see how an academic community is to be saved from that "hazy, lazy, delectable" dreaminess of the soul, which comes from the free indulgence of speculative habits, a dreaminess in which moral distinctions tend to be blurred and plain duties to be obliterated. "A man should have a farm or a mechanical craft for his culture," says Emerson. He believes in it as a basis for poetic and philosophic thought. "We must have an antagonism," he says,

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"in the tough world for all the variety of our spiritual faculties, or they will not be born." Still more is the mechanical craft a necessity for your sociological thought, and the reason that our Universities have done so little hitherto in the sociological field is precisely because they have been so far divorced from every form of hard, honest manual work. A few hours a week would teach a man more than many text-books, not least it would teach him that sympathy which is an essential factor of intelligence. You have just opened your playing field. It is well. But it would be better still if instead of buying it with the earnings of other men's labour, you had made it with your own.

Now I shall certainly be asked to come down myself out of the "hazy, lazy, delectable region" of dreaming and explain how I mean this thing to be done. Well, I am not prepared to give up dreaming; the world of things as they are is too much with me as it is. Nor am I prepared with a cut-and-dried plan. I would rather proceed as they do in the House of Commons, when they want to frighten the Peers, by way of resolution. The schoolmaster must stick to his ferrule, or as old U. C. S. boys would put it, to his Appearing Book. There are wise heads here of men of practical experience and great administrative capacity. The wise head will guide the sympathetic heart, and, where there are these, there is a way. *Was du sollst, du kannst.*

It is clear, at any rate, if we leave out of account the climbers on the scholastic ladder, that a young working man, however thoughtful and studious, has no likelihood, as things are, of entering the University as a matriculated student and taking a degree course. It is equally clear that, even if we modify the course, shortening its duration, confining it to English literature, history, economics, local government, and sociology, and making it lead up to a diploma rather than a degree, still there is need of previous preparation before the young workman will be fit to enter on it. Such preparation

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might appropriately be placed in the hands of the University Extension Authorities, in consultation with the Labour and Co-operative Organisations, and the Workers' Educational Association, which has done so much to evoke and to corroborate the aspirations of the workers towards a higher culture. Such preparatory work must be done more on the lines of the class than the lecture. Already during this past winter two such classes have been held, at Longton in the Potteries and at Rochdale. Forty young working men were admitted, each undertaking that he would attend regularly, read the required books, write the weekly papers which were set, sit for the examination at the end. Both classes were eminently successful; forty were in at the start and forty were in at the finish. Such classes as these, if rightly handled, will have an intelligent young artisan ready in two or three years for academic teaching. And when he comes into residence at the University, he will find his footing as soon as any Rhodes scholar, for I know no community where the qualities of sterling manhood count for more, and outward or titular trappings count for less, than undergraduate society.

But this, in any case, will take time to work out. One thing is an immediate possibility for every one. We have all heard of the Danish High School Movement. It was Mr. Joseph S. Thornton of this College who first made it known in England. Something similar to this we have in England, capable of rendering like service to the nation. Every summer thousands of young artisans spend their annual week's holiday at one or other of the centres of the Co-operative Holidays Association. The holidays are professedly of an educational character; every week there are lectures, for the most part in the open-air, on plants, or rocks, or the historic memories and literary associations of the country in which the holiday is spent. From the first it has been the aim of the association to get as many University men as possible to join this holiday

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fellowship. It struck us that many a University man, whose health or whose purse could not stand the strain of Toynbee Hall, might welcome the opportunity of realising the fellowship of men of other walks in life under holiday conditions. These holidays give him such a chance; they are a sort of Toynbee Hall in the open. Undergraduates must have holidays, not to mention Professors; after all these dissipations of term time, there must be some time for getting the work done. But even in the holidays one cannot work continuously. "In order to preserve the completeness of a rich and well-balanced humanity," says the delectable Blackie, "the best thing a man can do is to shake himself loose, as frequently as possible, from the domination of an exclusive current of thought." When you feel that it will be necessary for you, in order to preserve the completeness of your rich and well-balanced humanity, to shake yourself loose from the domination of exclusive Classics, or Anglo-Saxon, or Medicine, or Mathematics, or Science, may I be allowed to suggest that then is the chance of getting into touch and fellowship with the working men and women, who do the necessary things of life and keep the world going? All this will prepare for the solution and help it when it comes. There is one remedy for all difficulties, one spirit which surmounts all obstacles. "We must be lovers," says Emerson, "and at once the impossible becomes possible."

In no civilised country is the gap between the educated and uneducated classes so wide as it is in our own. In no other civilised country is the disproportion between the two classes so great as in our own. We have done much in recent years, but what we have done has been mainly on the line of technical education. We have to a large extent succeeded in making the man a better mechanic. What we now need is an educational movement on a not less extensive scale, which shall aim at making the mechanic a better man. This can only be done by

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teaching, which shall kindle the imagination and feed the hunger of the soul by keeping before the mind noble types and noble thoughts, and unsealing the fountains of the world's great poetry. There are so many forms of recreation and amusement which appeal to the working lad of our large towns along the lower levels of his life, which offer to him just the thrill of excitement and sensation he craves to counteract the blank monotony of his existence. These things crowd in upon him at every street corner, and array themselves with all the attractions of colour and brightness and gaiety. And the opportunities for the higher life are so few and so repellent and so far out of his beaten path. "It is not for their toil," says Carlyle, "that I lament for the poor; we must all toil or steal (howsoever we name our stealings), which is worse; no faithful workman finds his work a pastime. But what I do mourn over is that the lamp of his soul should go out; that no ray of heavenly or even earthly knowledge should visit him; but only in this haggard darkness, like two spectres—Fear and Indignation—bear him company." It is for that lamp of the soul I plead, that it may be fed with the oil which alone can keep the light a-burning. While that lamp is burning low in the socket and near to quenching, the soul is poor indeed. But when that lamp burns brightly it makes a new world in the humblest dwelling, and the brother of low degree rejoices in that he is exalted.

The root of all our social troubles is the attitude of the educated and comfortable classes toward the poor. We treat them not as fellow-beings but as contributory parts of a machine. We allow ourselves to be served by them, but we live apart from them. We pass them without greeting in the streets. We do not welcome their talents or, as the condition of recognising them, we call upon them to renounce their class. We do not rejoice in their hopes. We look askance at their efforts to work out their own salvation.

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The new humanism will put an end to all this. It will begin by recognising that—

Within the hearts of all men lie
Those promises of wider bliss,
Which blossom into hopes that cannot die.

All that hath been majestic
In life or death, since time began,
Is native in the simple heart of all,
The angel heart of man.

And thus, among the untaught poor,
Great deeds and feelings find a home
That cast in shadow all the golden lore
Of classic Greece and Rome.

"Profecturus es ad homines maxime homines," said Pliny to a friend who was going out as Governor of Achæa. You may say the same to him who sets out to find his fellow-man, the brother of low degree. He is intensely human. And being human, he is no machine, nor part of a machine. Being human, he will rebel, if he is treated as a mere operative. Being human, none of your humanities are alien to him. Being human, he is not simply a means but an end; he exists for the unfolding and perfection of his own nature, and at our peril shall we keep from him any of those things which belong to the measure of the stature of the fullness of the perfect man.

May this great College, which never sold its gifts to the wealthy nor closed its doors on any man for lack of either a respectable creed or a respectable coat, which has so often identified itself with the missionising energies of culture, bear a foremost part in the great new expansion of learning which is coming. It *is* coming, because the things that are for man gravitate unerringly towards him. May it make no long tarrying, and may our own efforts help to speed its coming.

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ENTRANCE SCHOLARSHIPS

By H. BOMPAS SMITH.

THE entrance scholarships awarded by the Oxford and Cambridge colleges are intended to fulfil two purposes, which are to a large extent distinct. In the first place, they are one of the main instruments by which the traditional standard of scholarship is maintained both in the Universities themselves and in the schools from which the holders come. In the performance of this function they are eminently successful. They serve as valuable prizes for the reward of intellectual distinction in certain fields, and foster a definite type of ability by inducing many able boys to undergo an appropriate course of mental training. It is hardly too much to say that the curriculum and methods of instruction most characteristic of the Public and the Preparatory Schools are primarily determined by the ambition, on the part of parents, boys, and schools, to gain successes in the competition for these scholarships. The system of University entrance scholarships has rendered an incalculable service to the nation by giving tangible expression to a high ideal of liberal learning and literary culture.

But the original object with which these scholarships were founded was less the maintenance of an educational ideal than the assistance of the needy scholar. Until lately it was tacitly assumed that under a system of open competition, all men, whether poor or rich, would have equal opportunities. A fair field and no favour was the policy adopted by the University Commissions. But in this, as in other spheres, free trade has proved to be one stage in a complex process of evolution rather

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than the final word upon the question of intergroup competition. It is now widely realised that, as a matter of fact, poor men may suffer from a serious disadvantage, even when the conditions of competition are apparently the same for all. Some authorities, indeed, tell us that all is well. In a paper read before the Education Section of the British Association at the last annual meeting, Dr. H. B. Baker said that the heads of all colleges at Oxford and Cambridge had been asked to give an estimate of the proportion of their scholars during the last ten years who could have afforded to reside at the University without the aid of their emoluments. Their estimates showed that at Cambridge 17 per cent of the scholars could have resided at the University without their scholarships, while at Oxford the proportion was only 6 per cent. These figures, however, have been disputed, and they are based upon information which, from its very nature, is bound to be indefinite. At any rate, it seems quite clear that a large number of able boys of narrow means are necessarily excluded under the present system from competing for University scholarships. Their exclusion is the result of two different causes.

The first cause is the inadequate pecuniary value of most of the scholarships awarded. A scholarship of forty or fifty pounds will not enable a poor boy to enter the University unless he obtains assistance from some other source, such as a school or county council exhibition. But, if we are to judge the system of college entrance scholarships on its merits, these additional possibilities must be disregarded. They are unequally distributed and, so far as the colleges are concerned, are quite accidental. It is more to the purpose that most colleges have funds from which special help can be given in individual cases, but from the point of view of the working of the system these additional allowances lose their value on account of their uncertainty. No man would go up to the University on the chance of his college coming to his aid if his scholar-

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ship failed to meet his necessary expenses. Hence it appears that when the University Commissioners fixed £80 as the normal value of Oxford scholarships, they practically confined the competition for these scholarships to boys who possessed an additional income of say £40, either from private or public sources. At Cambridge the position is even worse. Of the scholarships awarded in the year 1907-8, only about one-sixth were of the value of £80 or upwards, while more than half were worth £40 or less.

Secondly, many boys of narrow means are excluded on account of the method by which the scholarships are awarded. Scholars are elected upon the results of a competitive examination, success in which depends upon the candidate's having undergone a course of highly specialised preparation until he is eighteen or nineteen years of age. Hence the competition is confined to boys who can fulfil two conditions. The first is that they must be kept at school until they are eighteen or nineteen. This involves, in the case of really poor boys, assistance from some form of intermediate or continuation scholarship. But unfortunately such scholarships are comparatively few in number. Exact statistics are difficult to obtain, but it seems that there are only about one-twentieth as many scholarships tenable at secondary schools until the age of eighteen as there are scholarships for younger boys. It is constantly asserted by masters in second-grade schools that this dearth of intermediate scholarships compels a good many boys to leave school at fourteen or fifteen who might have competed for University scholarships if they had been able to afford four or five more years at school. But there is a second condition which candidates for University scholarships must fulfil. They must have attended a school which provided the particular form of preparatory training essential to success. The effect of this limitation is shown by the following figures which give the percentage of scholarships won by different types of schools.

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SCHOLARSHIPS AT OXFORD.

Year.	Seven Great Public Schools.	Other Schools on Headmasters' Conference (about 90).	Other Endowed Schools (about 450).	Technical, etc., Schools (about 150).
1902-3	22	68	8	2
1903-4	15	77	7	1
1904-5	32	57	11	0
1905-6	19	72	8	1
1906-7	25	63	12	0

SCHOLARSHIPS AT CAMBRIDGE.

Year.	Seven Schools.	H.M.C. Schools.	Endowed Schools.	Technical Schools.
1902-3	17	67	14	2
1903-4	19	68	11	2
1904-5	14	77	8	1
1905-6	17	64	18	2
1906-7	13	71	12	8

It appears, therefore, that of the open scholarships won by English schools (Scotch, Welsh, and Irish are omitted), seven schools have during the past year gained 22 per cent at Oxford, and 17 per cent at Cambridge; about ninety other schools have won 69 per cent at each University; while all the rest of the secondary schools have among them gained 10 per cent at Oxford and 14 per cent at Cambridge. In other words, a boy's chance of winning a scholarship is slight unless he can attend one of a comparatively small number of schools.

These facts and considerations seem to show that there is need for the University scholarships to be made more generally available for boys of narrow means. But one obvious method of doing this may be summarily rejected. Under present conditions an increase in the number of scholarships awarded would involve an undesirable lowering of the in-

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tellectual standard of the scholars. From the University calendars and the notices issued by the colleges, it appears that about 200 scholarships are given every year at Oxford and about 190 at Cambridge, and it is the general opinion that this provision is sufficient. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that in the Final Honour Schools at Oxford, in 1907, 30 per cent of the scholars were placed in the third or fourth class. At any rate, a change in the conditions of award must precede any great increase in the number of scholarships provided. On the other hand, the suggestion has been made in several quarters that the assistance given to impecunious scholars might be made more adequate if the value of all scholarships were, in the first instance, reduced to a low figure, such as £20, and this sum augmented in certain cases to meet the requirements of individual holders. The efficacy of the scholarships as a stimulus to intellectual effort would not suffer, provided the prestige attaching to the position of a scholar were carefully preserved.

The tendency to limit the competition to boys from certain schools can be counteracted only by an alteration in the methods by which the scholarships are awarded. The type of ability now encouraged is too specialised and narrow. This is shown, for instance, by a comparison of the different percentages of scholars and commoners who gain honours in the various final schools. Thus in the Oxford Final Honour Schools, in 1907, the percentage of first and second class men who were scholars was 83 in the School of Literæ Humaniores, in Mathematics 100, and in Science 64; but in History the percentage was only 23, in Law 28, in Theology 26, and in Modern Languages 0. This shows that the present scholarship system does not equally encourage even the various types of ability tested by the University examinations. The Universities ought to train men for all classes of directive callings, but the scholarship system has not yet been adapted to the wider demands due to the

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recent developments of our national life. Only when it has been thus modified will it fulfil its purpose of enabling the ablest boys, from all classes of the community, to obtain the unique preparation for the highest social functions which the older Universities are pre-eminently fitted to provide.

HOW WORKING WOMEN EXIST

BY PRISCILLA E. MOULDER

IN one of her books Olive Schreiner very truly says : " It is delightful to be a woman ; but every man thanks the Lord devoutly that he isn't one." Now, I am well aware of the fact that the phrase " working women " is a most elastic term. Women-clerks, reporters, accountants, doctors, teachers, novelists, lawyers, typists, milliners, dressmakers, all deserve the title of working women. However, it is not to any of these that my remarks apply. I wish to deal exclusively with the three and a half million wage-earning women, the bulk of whom drag out a grey, cheerless existence, being overworked and underpaid, on far less than a fair living wage. In the lives of these women there is no room for culture, no room for " sweetness and light," no real pleasure of any kind. They simply exist from day to day, month to month, and " the time passes somehow."

Marie Corelli in her book *The Murder of Delicia*, has an introductory note in which she says : " There are countless cases among the hard-working millions, whom we elect to call the ' lower classes,' where the wife, working from six in the morning till ten at night, has to see her hard earnings snatched from her by her ' better ' half and spent at the public-house in strong drink, despite the fact that there is no food at home, and that innocent little children are starving. These instances are so frequent that they have almost ceased to awaken our interest, much less our sympathy."

This picture of the life of a working woman, though it is so true, has been thought by many to be overdrawn and too highly coloured. Take then the words of a practical man :

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Says Robert Blatchford in *Merrie England*: "Poor Mrs. John Smith! Her life is one long slavery, cooking, cleaning, managing, mending, washing clothes, waiting on husband and children, her work is never done; and, amid it all, she suffers the pains and anxieties of child-bearing and the suckling of children. There are no servants and few workers so hard-wrought and so ill-paid as the wife of a British artisan. What are her hours of labour, my trades-union friend? What pleasure has she, what rest, what prospect?"

It should be noticed, however, that the "poor Mrs. John Smith" referred to is represented as being the wife of an artisan, not the wife of an ordinary unskilled labourer. Most of us estimate things by comparison, and among the British working classes, the woman who marries a man of the rank of artisan—that is a skilled workman, with his from 30s. to 50s. a week—is very lucky compared with the woman whose husband swells the ranks of the unskilled labour market. The earnings of those unfortunate men who are called unskilled labourers, seldom get beyond 24s. a week, and very often only reach the level of 18s. or 20s. per week. If the life of Mrs. John Smith with her mechanic, painter, joiner, plumber, or mason, is slavery, what is the life of a woman who is compelled to help her husband to bring in the living by going out to work, besides attending to household duties?

The fact is, the life of a woman thus situated—and they are numbered by tens of thousands to-day—is nothing more nor less than one continual round of drudgery.

Take the case of a young fellow who elects to get married on £1 a week. There is the rent, coal, food, gas, clothes, payment for furniture, which is usually got on the "hire system," and generally a further sum is claimed by the husband as pocket-money. All this has to come out of the weekly twenty shillings. The most careful, thrifty, managing housewife would hardly be able to make both ends meet on such an allowance.

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Therefore, under these circumstances, the only remedy is for the wife to turn out to work and bring in a regular weekly wage like her husband.

If the wife happens to have been a weaver or a factory worker of any kind before marriage, so much the better for her. She can at once begin her old routine by returning to work. However, should she have been a domestic servant, factory work does not come so easily or so pleasantly to her, and then she either takes in children to nurse, goes out charring, or washes clothes for others. When a wife is thus compelled to go out to work, the various household duties have to be done when she returns home at night. As regards meals, breakfast and dinner are carried to the factory or workshop in baskets or tin boxes. Tea is the only meal taken at home, and it is a matter of little surprise to find that tasty dishes are often fancied for the one comfortable meal of the day. After tea there are washing or baking, mending or cleaning, and any number of trifling duties to fit in between these necessary operations.

Should the husband be a fairly decent sort of man, he helps with the rougher kind of work, such as blackleading the grate, fetching coals in, or cleaning windows, and more particularly is he inclined to do these jobs just after the wedding. Of course, the man who is worthy of the name of husband continues to help, as long as his wife is compelled to go out to work. It is much to be feared, however, that the majority of husbands very seldom think that their wives need any help with household duties, even when they have been working all day. As a rule the husband's programme for the evening is delightfully simple. He returns home from his work, gets his tea, washes himself, and then off he goes to the nearest club or public-house. As a change he may take a long walk in company with his "mate" or his dog, in either case leaving the unfortunate wife to battle with the work and children as best she can.

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Now, take the agricultural districts. An old farmer was once asked the question: "Is marriage a failure?" and his reply was: "My missus minds the house, tends the children, milks the cows, feeds the poultry, looks after the pigs, makes the bread, churns the butter, and other odd jobs, and all for nothing a week, and what could be cheaper than that? No; marriage isn't a failure down my way." Some time ago, a farm labourer's wife, living in Wiltshire, was describing how she managed to keep her family on 11s. a week. Her husband was a cowman, receiving that princely sum as wages, and the family numbered seven—five children, whose ages ranged from three to twelve, with the father and mother. This is how she spent the 11s.: Six gallons of bread at 9d. a gallon, 4s. 6d.; $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. tea, 10d.; 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. bacon, 1s.; 1 lb. butter and cheese, 2s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; 3 lb. sugar, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; oil, 3d.; half-hundredweight of coal, 6d.; soda, 1d.; soap, 3d.; tobacco, 3d.; total, 10s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Nothing could be allowed for clothing or shoes. When the family required those necessities, they had either to reduce their food supply, or get into debt and get out as best they could. Except at Whitsuntide they never had any fresh meat. This is only one solitary case out of hundreds.

"Yes," I fancy some superfine critic saying, "no doubt it is all very true, but, after all, the wives of working men are used to this kind of life, and so do not mind it as we should." Of course they are used to it, much in the same way as eels are said to be used to skinning. But it is extremely doubtful whether wives or eels get so used to the process as not to feel it. George Eliot has said: "A woman, let her be as good as she may, has to put up with the life her husband makes for her." These words of the great novelist are peculiarly applicable to working women. What a world of misery working men often make for their wives by carelessness, neglect, unreasonable whims, bad temper, continual fault-finding, as well as downright ill-treatment! The following anecdote well

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illustrates the manner in which some working men treat their wives. A lady had called to see a poor woman whose husband had died suddenly, and who, it was reported, had behaved very badly to his wife. Asked by the lady if her husband had always been unkind to her, the woman burst into tears and sobbed out: "No, indeed, he was kind enough sometimes. Why, only last week my man took me out shopping, and when we was climbing the hill coming home he looked back and said, 'Come on, old draggie-tail.'" The answer, though not without its humorous side, was terribly pathetic, as showing the poor woman's only idea of the kindness received from her husband.

To get back again to the original subject. When the young people are beginning to feel settled in the married state, children generally arrive on the scene, and long before the furniture has been paid off sickness comes; the wife is compelled to stay at home, and the usual result of increased debt follows. When the little ones are about a month old they are put out to nurse. Should there happen to be no neighbour close at hand who makes a practice of nursing young children, they are sent farther afield. The poor little mites are taken from their warm beds every morning before six o'clock, summer and winter alike. They are then led or carried through the streets in all kinds of weather, and often only half awake. Being mainly brought up away from home, it is very natural that the children do not display any remarkable signs of affection or respect for their parents. The mother is much too tired and worn out by her day's toil to trouble herself about exacting obedience. After a while, when the children begin to show wills of their own, she soon gives up the unequal fight, and gradually lets them "gang their ain gait," apparently careless as to where it may lead them.

The years roll on, as years have a knack of doing, and the children grow into youths and maidens. Of home training, in

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the true sense of the word, they have had little or none. They have been literally knocked about from pillar to post, put out to nurse when they were young, sent to school and factory as soon as the required age was reached, and generally allowed to look after themselves and follow their own inclinations, whether for good or evil. The girls may fall into folly and sin or they may not; it mostly depends on the kind of associates they are thrown amongst. The boys may turn into gamblers or drunkards, or into respectable law-abiding citizens; their careers, like those of their sisters, depend largely on their surroundings. Some people, whom I meet from time to time, profess to feel very shocked at the wickedness of the working classes; but to those who, like myself, have always lived amongst them, the greater wonder is that they are as good as they are. Naturally, again, the custom of early marriages is very hard on the parents, more particularly on the mother. Just as her family is reaching the age when some benefit might reasonably be expected from them, they, in their turn, get married, and start life on their own account. So "runs the round of life from hour to hour."

Of late years a great deal has been heard about the decreasing families among the working classes. President Roosevelt in America, and prominent men in this country, have both spoken and written about the danger of the declining birth rate. If these gentlemen could have practical experience of what a large family means to a working woman, they would cease to wonder at the decrease.

The common opinion held by a large number of men, even in these so-called enlightened days, that if there were better wives there would be better husbands, can very properly be reversed. It is, one would suppose, quite within the range of possibility that if there were better husbands there might be better wives. At any rate, the experiment is worth a trial. The late Max O'Rell once said: "It is strange that at every

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prize-giving in a girls' school the pupils are exhorted to train themselves to become good wives and mothers ; but I never heard the duty impressed on boys of becoming decent husbands and tolerable fathers."

Another practice which has a decided tendency to try the patience of working men's wives is this. It seems a general rule among the married men to keep back for their own use a fixed sum out of their earnings every week, and that whether they are working full time or not. In doing this they never consider the possible wants of wives or children, and when a man insists on keeping a portion of his weekly earnings for the sole purpose of self-indulgence, he should not be surprised if his long-suffering wife does occasionally fail to possess her soul in patience, especially when she finds it more than usually difficult—perhaps impossible—to make both ends meet, or even come within sight of each other. There is not, probably, quite that amount of brutality displayed by working men towards their wives that there was, say, forty years ago, but the daily papers still record cases of inhuman cruelty to wives and children, and surely the everyday hardships of the working man's wife are quite enough without the additional burden of wanton cruelty.

The wives of the men who are continually agitating for an eight hours day, would only be too glad if some kind friend would get them a twelve hours day, for, at present, their working day is nearer sixteen hours than eight, with but few holidays to break the deadly monotony. Again, in working-class circles, when anything unpleasant has to be done, the duty is invariably delegated to the wife. Is the rent due, and money scarce ? The wife must explain to the landlord, and try to appease his wrath. Should the weekly or monthly payment for the furniture be discontinued for a time through stress of circumstances, the wife must go and smooth matters over and beg for further grace. If credit has been obtained at the grocer's or draper's, and the debt cannot be paid off, the wife

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must take the reproaches. When the holidays come round, and it is a question of a day's trip to the seaside or into the country, who has to stand aside? Certainly, not the husband. Besides, what pleasure can a woman possibly have in going away from home with three or four young children dragging at her skirts? The remedy is as bad, or worse, than the disease.

So the poor woman goes on, month after month, year after year, until she comes to regard her confinements as a welcome break in the monotony of her life, and as the only chance of a few days' rest. Of course, there may be found, here and there, women of exceptional grit and spirit—those with plenty of dash and push in their natures—who will insist on going to places of amusement in company with their husband. But, even so, the home and children must suffer, for however capable a woman may be, she cannot do two things at once.

To observant, thinking people, it causes no surprise when they find that working women are given to gossip and scandal. Human nature must have relaxation of some kind, and the shortcomings of gossiping and slandering are not confined to the ranks of working women. Neither is it surprising to find a certain amount of immorality among working women. The wonder is that there is not a great deal more. To my mind it speaks volumes for the integrity of the wives of working men that, in spite of the absence of all those things which are supposed to make life worth living, they should still plod on, day after day, trying to do their duty according to their lights, and the best of us can do no more.

Women who spend their lives in pleasure and frivolity, who have never done a day's real hard work in their lives, cannot possibly imagine life as it is lived by the wives of working men. They can see the vices, the vulgarity, the drudgery, the sordidness, quickly enough, but they cannot understand how such a life can be made beautiful, in the truest sense of the word, by self-sacrifice, honesty of purpose, and a steady devotion

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to duty. When facts are being continually brought to light in regard to the narrow groove in which the majority of working women are compelled to move, the entire absence of refinement, appreciation, love, congenial work, and pleasant surroundings, when all this is taken into consideration, the charges of selfishness and indifference which are so readily thrown at working women by their more fortunate sisters, fall harmless to the ground. What energy, time, or inclination have working women to trouble their brains about such things as religion, politics, education, hygiene? It taxes all their resources to the very utmost to be able to struggle through their daily tasks.

Of course, it would not be fair to give the impression that in the lives of working women there are no gleams of sunshine, that all is shade and sorrow. The truth is, that the gleams of sunshine are few and far between, while the mist and rain, the wind and storm, the drudgery and wearisome monotony are almost continual. The epitaph of the poor seamstress is well known :—

Weep not for me, friends, tho' death do us sever,
I'm going to do nothing for ever and ever.

It is quite probable that the majority of toil-worn women in this workaday world will sincerely echo the same sentiment. Unlike ladies in general, however, when working women get "run down," or "out of tone," or "troubled with nerves," they have not the advantage of being ordered away to the seaside or to the Continent for change of air and scene. How much of the hooliganism of large towns can be traced to the overworked, underfed, intellectually starved women workers? It is an interesting problem, the solving of which is heartily commended to those who profess to believe in helping on the "betterment of society." Is the solution to be found in the words of Henry Seton Merriman?—"When women work for nothing, they are giving away something that nobody wants."

GERMAN EDUCATION *

A HUNDRED years ago Prussia lay crushed under the iron heel of Napoleon. Her revenues were confiscated, her trade was ruined, it seemed as though her very existence was doomed. It was then that Fichte in Berlin sounded the note of future triumph. Never except at the French Revolution have men's souls been so stirred by the idea of social regeneration, of raising the whole existence of mankind to a higher level, as the soul of Germany in its darkest hour was stirred by the *Reden an die deutsche Nation*. The people realised that the regeneration must be from within, from the inmost depths of the spirit; and however impossible the task seemed to be, Fichte brought home to them the truth of Kant's transcendent maxim that what is right must be also possible, *Du kannst was du sollst*.

The fruit of the spirit ripens slowly, but it is sure. The German secondary schools and the universities, which were founded in the years immediately succeeding, have proved to be the seminaries not only of learning but of national aspiration and idealism. No other country has such a definite educational aim, or such a definite educational system, and the material greatness of Germany in commerce, industry, and the arts of war is simply the outward form which her new spirit has created for itself.

Nothing more clearly shows the intellectual faith of Fichte and Humboldt than the contrast between the university they founded at Berlin in 1810 and the reorganisation of the French universities which Napoleon carried out two years before. In

* *German Education: Past and Present*, by Friedrich Paulsen, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Berlin. Translated by T. Lorenz, Ph.D. Fisher Unwin. 5s. net.

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the French universities both curricula and examinations were regulated by State authorities. The main business of the professor was to teach, the main business of the student was to assimilate what his professor taught him, and neither student nor teacher was allowed any sort of individual initiative. While the Conqueror of Jena thus based the highest educational institutions of France on official regulations, the conquered nation had the courage and the faith to follow precisely the opposite line. The University of Berlin was to be above all "the workshop of free scientific research." The aim in view was not so much the acquisition of encyclopædic learning or of dogmatic propositions as the gaining of an independent grasp of scientific principles, the lifting the student into the region of ideas and initiating him into original scientific research. It was not so much the amassing of knowledge as the making of knowledge, the extension of its bounds, which the new University set before itself. Such scientific research cannot possibly be regulated by any official regulations. A syllabus of teaching may be laid down by State decree, but for research to thrive there must be full liberty. Whatever the German suffers from official regulations in other ways, the student at the University at any rate enjoys full liberty of study and research, and the opposition provoked by the present Minister of Education in his attempt to curtail it shows how jealously that *Akademische Freiheit* is guarded.

It is this faith in the power of ideas and in the application of ideas to life which makes a study of Germany so interesting and so instructive for the haphazard Englishman, who thinks the only practical way of managing his affairs is to snap his fingers at theory and scuffle energetically through them much in the same way as he scuffles through a football scrimmage. Nowhere is the lesson more clearly brought out than in the history of education, and no man is better able to write the history of German education than Professor Paulsen. He knows

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from personal experience the oldest, narrowest form of village school ; he is in full sympathy with the new movement which has given the Realgymnasium and Oberrealschule a share in the coveted privileges of the Gymnasium, and he is, above all, an historian. The great value of this book, what makes it a pattern for all historians of education to follow, is that he does not treat of education as an isolated movement, beginning and ending in itself, but as organically dependent on the life of society and reflecting from step to step the general progress of the inner life of mankind.

To praise this book would be impertinent : it is a book to be welcomed and read to the postponement of all others. Perhaps I may quote one passage which shows the breadth of the author's sympathies, a breadth which will surprise those who know the bitterness of the bourgeois feeling in Germany against Social Democracy :—

"Nor do I doubt that amongst the energies set free by the modern Labour movement, moral forces are to be found such as self-command and discipline, self-sacrifice and self-devotion for a great cause. And be the cause in itself good and possible or not, the value of those moral forces remains the same and they will not be lost. Perhaps the old experience will repeat itself here of the man who went out to search for a dreamland and found a real world."

LORD MORLEY'S "MISCELLANIES" *

By J. M. RAMSAY.

IT is pleasant, just at the time when Mr. Morley has been raised to a peerage, and when his administration of India has caused many of his old admirers to look on him with doubtful eyes, to come on this new volume with the plain, familiar name "John Morley" on the title-page. "Fugitive pieces," he calls them, "yet perhaps not altogether without a clue." The clue may be found, perhaps, in the fact that the essays here collected are all comments of a practical politician, and most of them are comments on political theory. This is most clearly seen in the masterly exposition of Machiavelli, originally delivered as the Romanes Lecture in 1897, and now fitly standing first in this volume, and in the review of Lecky's *Democracy and Liberty*, which illustrates with refreshing vigour the contrast between the pessimism of the isolated scholar and the confidence of the man of affairs. In dealing with Machiavelli, Lord Morley is on familiar ground, yet, as he shows us, not so familiar in fact as it is in assumption. "As Voltaire has said of Dante that his fame is secure because nobody reads him, so in an inverse sense the bad name of Machiavelli grew worse, because men reproached, confuted, and cursed, but seldom read. . . . While both of them railed against him, Catholic and Protestant each reviled the other as Machiavellist. . . . In England royalists called him an atheist, and roundheads called him a Jesuit." The mention of Voltaire reminds us of Lord Morley's study of him, written in 1872, and a comparison of the two essays, separated by an interval of

* *Miscellanies*: Fourth Series. By John Morley. Macmillan and Co., 1908.

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twenty-five years, brings out clearly the consistency of the writer's views and methods. There is the same freedom from the cant of current borrowed judgment, the same full realisation of what it was in time and circumstance that made each man what he was, and the same wealth of historical and literary allusion enriching every page. Short as it is in comparison with the book on Voltaire, the study of Machiavelli gains by compression. The description of his literary method is at once comforting and corrective to those who, reading the *Prince*, have been unable to find in it sufficient ground for the place that Machiavelli holds. "He possesses that truest of all forms of irony, which consists in literal statement, and of which you are not sure whether it is irony or *naïveté*. He disentangles his thought from the fact so skilfully and so clean that it looks almost obvious." The short review of Machiavellism in politics discovers it in unexpected quarters. William the Silent, Henry of Navarre, Elizabeth of England were the three "commanding figures" of the later sixteenth century; but "it needs no peevish or pharisaic memory to trace even in these imposing personalities some of the lineaments of Machiavelli's hated and scandalous picture." Frederic of Prussia thought of writing a refutation of Machiavelli, himself all the while one of the most ruthless practisers of the methods that Machiavelli described. And in the ten years that have passed since the Romanes Lecture was delivered, the increasing complexity of our foreign relations, the methods of imperial expansion, and the entrance of democracy as a real force into Parliament—all these promise rich material for an analysis as searching as that which Machiavelli applied to the Italian politics of his day.

These recent developments are the theme of two books dealt with in other essays in this volume—Lecky's *Democracy and Liberty* and Mr. L. T. Hobhouse's *Democracy and Reaction*. To review a review is to serve up *crambe repetita*. But these articles are more than reviews; they serve once more to express

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that sturdy liberalism of thought and action which has always been the creed of John Morley. Inevitably the question arises of the relation of Liberalism—in the narrower and in the wider sense—to Socialism. Mr. Lecky saw nothing but menace to liberty in the growth of modern democracy. Mr. Hobhouse, on the other hand, saw the menace to liberty in the reactionary and aggressive imperialism which seemed to be triumphant when he wrote his book. Lord Morley's defence of democracy will not please every one; he agrees with Mr. Lecky that it would be a menace to liberty if it took a really socialistic line, and he will have none of Mr. Hobhouse's eirenicon between Liberalism and Socialism, as being two movements in the same direction at different speeds. But the question remains whether the Morley type of Liberalism has ever been useful save as a protest against, and a means of removing, some existing injustice; a most important function, but not now the most valuable, in these days of constructive social legislation. What, for instance, is the Liberal justification for Old Age Pensions? On the old lines, it is difficult to find it. The measure is as purely socialistic as free education. But the Liberal will still go on, and the Conservative will go on, "liberating" and "conserving" in the most unexpected manner, and retaining only the names to show what perhaps were once their principles. What would John Stuart Mill think of the present House of Commons? The question is suggested by Lord Morley's centenary article on the philosopher, and by his opinion that in all valuable qualities the present House is the best of the seven he has known. The article reminds us of the danger of forgetting what we owe to those on whose shoulders we stand. No legend has grown up round the name of Mill as round that of Machiavelli, and yet what we most frequently hear now when his name is mentioned is an invocation or a denunciation of his authority as an economist of the Manchester school. That is not an exhaustive description of him, even as an economist,

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and it is well to be reminded of the place he held in his lifetime and after it as the codifier of Liberal thought. Even the *Logic* is brought by Lord Morley into this scheme, since it furnishes, or at least sharpens, the weapon of attack on authority unjustified by reason.

Of the other essays, that on Guicciardini suggests a contemporary contrast with Machiavelli, a historian of Italy who did not try to account for everything on the lines of ruthless self-interest alone, but gave a human account of human affairs. But for most of us Guicciardini will remain associated only with the anecdote enshrined in the "dazzling page" of Macaulay, about the convict who preferred the galleys to the historian. Then there is a sympathetic account of Mr. Frederic Harrison's *Theophano*, an endeavour to remove from Byzantine history the undeserved stigma of triviality. To keep the Turk out of Europe for four hundred years was no mean achievement. Lastly, the Comtist *Calendar of Great Men* furnishes a text for a discourse on the principles of selection and the inevitable people who ought to have been included. Certainly it is difficult to see why Calvin and Wesley should be omitted when George Fox finds a place.

And so we place the book on the shelf with *Compromise* and *Voltaire* and the rest, and are grateful for the clearness of thought and precision of word, the sympathy without sentimentality, the vigour without hardness, that make a bracing atmosphere for the mind distracted by the vague clamour of the voices round us.

THE PROBLEM OF UNSKILLED LABOUR.

THE Report just issued by the Charity Organisation Society with regard to Unskilled Labour once more emphasises chronic irregularity of employment as the most prominent factor in poverty. The Report is that of a Special Committee appointed in 1905 "to inquire and report whether by modification of existing methods of engagement, contract, and remuneration, especially in the case of unskilled labour, industry may not be organised on some more stable and beneficial conditions than now prevail." The conclusions and recommendations reached are the following :—

1. The Committee is of opinion that the system of irregular engagement and the daily payment of unskilled workmen is largely responsible for the poverty and unthriftiness so commonly found in this class.
2. The Committee believes that lasting improvement can be effected by the organisation of the demand for a supply of workmen so as to increase the extent of the market for labour, and of the mobility of workmen within it.
3. With this end in view, the Committee recommends that conferences should be arranged to consider, more especially in the case of the building trade and of employment at the docks and wharves, the best form of such organisation.
4. The Committee, recognising that employment cannot be rendered wholly regular over a series of years, or even for one year, emphasises the need for the extended organisation of societies for mutual thrift on the principle of insurance for the purpose of enabling labour to meet industrial risks.

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5. The Committee would draw attention to the necessity for securing a large measure of industrial training to boys and girls during the years immediately after leaving the elementary school in occupations likely to lead to permanent employment in after life ; and also for assisting and encouraging parents to make wise choice in selecting the occupations of their children.
6. With regard to the bearing of co-operation and profit-sharing on employment, we are unable to satisfy ourselves that the use of these methods has a direct effect in increasing the regularity of employment. It may, however, in our opinion, be fairly inferred that these methods have a valuable indirect effect in this direction through the favourable influences thus exerted upon the character and condition of the workers.

To the recommendations is prefixed a very valuable introduction by Mr. C. J. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Committee, dealing in order with the various forms of casual employment, their social effects, and possible remedies.

The leading place is naturally occupied by a discussion of dock and wharf labour. Here the description, though most detailed in regard to London, is widened by summary notices of labour conditions in other ports—Glasgow, Liverpool, Southampton, Antwerp, and Rotterdam. In all the British ports at least the same central evil is apparent, viz. "the maintenance of a floating reserve of labour far larger than is required to meet the maximum demands of employers. This is brought about by the independent action of the separate employing agencies, each seeking to retain a following of labour as nearly as possible equal to its own maximum demand. The result is a mass of men chronically under-employed." Figures are given showing the degree of this over-stocking on various assumptions as to mobility of labour from dock to dock. A

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striking fact, deduced from returns made by a number of wharves, is that the irregularity of work is even greater than it need be, if every wharf gave permanent work to as many men as it could. "The permanent staff retained is only 70 per cent of the sum of the minima employed. The other 30 per cent of work—[i.e. of work which could be done by regular men]—is consciously or unconsciously distributed among a larger number of individuals, so as to keep men available for busier seasons."

Building presents a form of employment in which to the difficulties of being seasonal and of liability to great fluctuation in volume is added the further difficulty of a high degree of decentralisation. The essential features of under-employment are reproduced ; instead of a series of reserves of men waiting outside particular places of business, there is at all times a mass of men tramping the streets in search of a job. The special features of the trade are the extent to which men follow particular foremen ; the practice of "weeding out" undesirables after a few days' trial at the beginning of a job ; and the demoralising effect on industry of a plan of employment by the job combined with payment by the hour. "Ca' canny" in such circumstances becomes mere common sense. All these points are well illustrated in Mr. Hamilton's introduction and in the evidence received by the Committee from foremen in the trade.

Casual employment reduces the productivity of labour, constitutes a social burden, and is demoralising to the labourer. These are the three main points in the section which follows on that describing the form of casual work, and deals with its social effects. They need no lengthy exposition. There is no lack of evidence for the view that "casual employment habituates men to casual life, making idleness, slovenliness, and irresponsibility easy and tempting," and, further, that in so far as it involves casual remuneration it renders all accurate adapta-

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tion of expenditure to means almost impossible, and causes the money earned, though often considerable, to be wasted in "alternations of extravagance and starvation."

In the discussion of remedies the organisation of the casual labour market is put in the forefront. In this connection reference must be made to the account given in the evidence of Mr. H. H. Watts, Staff Inspector under the London and India Docks Company, of the scheme of decasualisation adopted by that company. This, the latest and fullest description of one of the most notable experiments in social reform by business organisation, forms one of the most valuable features in the report. It shows how, by the gradual enlargement of the unit for taking on men from the department to the dock, and from the dock to the whole system of docks, the proportion of work done by regular as opposed to irregular men has been steadily raised from about 16 per cent as, according to figures obtained for Mr. Charles Booth, it stood in 1887, to 45 per cent in 1891-2, and 82 per cent in 1903. In the second place, emphasis is laid on the possibilities of extending insurance against unemployment, and some of the leading Continental experiments are described. The two things, indeed, go together. According to a passage quoted from the exhaustive report on Insurance against Unemployment, published by the German Imperial Statistical Office in 1906: "On one point all proposals agree, one point emerges clear in the adjudication of every practical scheme, in every form of unemployed benefit or insurance, an adequate system of Labour Exchanges is of the first importance."

To the report itself are appended minutes of evidence given by employers, foremen, and workmen in regard to building, dock labour, carmen's labour, gas works, and other industries.

POOR LAW ON THE CONTINENT.¹

By H. E. STURGE.

THIS little book gives us many interesting glimpses of the methods of dealing with the poor adopted in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. It does not profess to be a complete or systematic survey; it is rather a series of sketches loosely strung together, without much arrangement and with some repetitions. In some cases only a single aspect of the subject is reviewed. The chapter on Hungary is devoted solely to the treatment of poor-law children, while the Danish system is considered only in reference to its provision for the aged. The descriptions of the systems of Berlin and Vienna are the most exhaustive, and afford much valuable material for comparative study. Especially interesting are the sections dealing with the Balkans and Russia. They are chiefly a record of neglect and indifference, and throw a lurid light upon the social conditions that prevail in these little-known regions of Europe. What, for instance, are we to think of a country where, as in Russia, the police are the sole authorities for dealing with the poor, and where granting permission to beg is the official solution of the pauper problem, so far as the towns are concerned? But the chief interest of the book lies not so much in exposing the defects of other systems, as in showing their special excellence and recommending them to the consideration of social reformers in this country.

Miss Sellers entertains a very poor opinion of the poor law as administered in England. The system is wasteful, and gives

¹ *Foreign Solutions of Poor Law Problems*, by Edith Sellers. (Horace Marshall and Son. 2s. 6d. net.)

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very bad results. No other country in the world spends or could afford to spend £14,000,000 annually on poor relief, and yet have so little to show for it. The truth is that not money but thought is wanting. We do not take the trouble to sift and classify, but label all our poor, deserving or undeserving, with the name of pauper, and mete out the same treatment to them all. One cause of this, her foreign experience leads her to suggest, is that the administration of relief is in the hands of amateurs, and not, as in Berlin and Copenhagen, of paid and skilled officials. At any rate, no matter whose the blame, the indictment is severe enough, and some of the comparisons distinctly odious. Miss Sellers tells us that she has watched the working of ten foreign poor-relief systems during the last twelve years, and that of these "there are only three under which the deserving poor, especially the aged deserving poor, suffer so keenly as under ours; and not one at all under which the undeserving, the thoroughly worthless, are made quite so comfortable." Again, "both in Austria and in Denmark the aged poor are treated much more considerately and humanely than in England. Not only there, but in Holland, Belgium, France, Roumania, even in Russia and Bosnia, old folk of the worn-out worker class have homes of their own, quite apart from any building into which paupers are admitted." Also "in Germany and Hungary destitute children are infinitely better cared for than in England." And finally, "I know no people indeed, unless it be the Servians or the Belgians, who deal with their unemployed so unwisely and unfairly as we do, or so wastefully."

It must suffice here to indicate those respects in which the methods of other countries appear obviously superior to our own. Hungary, which proceeds upon the assumption that every child born within its boundaries is a national asset, has a very elaborate scheme for dealing with orphan, destitute, and neglected children. The State is practically prepared to take

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over any child and board it out with a foster-mother if its present circumstances are not conducive to a healthy upbringing. The cost of the undertaking is defrayed largely out of the pockets of the responsible relatives of the children, who are carefully sought out and compelled to contribute according to their means. In this way bad parents who may be forced by the State to give up their children are not released from pecuniary responsibility, while at the same time all parental rights are forfeited. Experience shows that such an arrangement has had the effect of strengthening the sense of parental responsibility where it was impaired, and of securing so far as possible the best interests of the children.

The old-age homes of Copenhagen and Vienna are fully described. Their success and tone depend upon careful classification. They are homes for worn-out workers, and no more disgrace is attached to any occupant than to a veteran who enters Chelsea Hospital. The inmates are treated as human beings, housed in comfortable quarters, given plentiful and well-cooked food, a small sum of pocket-money, and almost unrestricted freedom. The cost of all this, in the case of the large home at Lainz, near Vienna, is 1s. 5½d. per head per day, in Copenhagen it is 1s. 8d., while in a London workhouse it is 2s. Expressed in terms of the comfort and happiness of the inmates, no comparison is possible between old-age homes and workhouses; and it would almost seem as if Englishmen in their pride of wealth were willing to pay extra for the privilege of branding their poor with ignominy. As long as we regard poverty as a crime, and the cure of crime to be inhumanity to the criminal, so long shall we self-sacrificingly ignore the economies which a humane and well-considered system of poor relief can achieve.

The penal workhouses of Austria serve as examples of the treatment reserved for the real waster. All offenders against the Vagrancy Act may be committed to this unpleasant institu-

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tion, where, according to an official report, the "work-shy" shall be "kept at work, made to understand the value of work, and have a love of work aroused in them." Great care is taken only to admit incorrigible loafers; other provision is made for genuine work-seekers. Prisoners (for they are no less) must remain for three years, and can be detained indefinitely if their conduct is unsatisfactory. A full account is given of the working of the penal workhouse at Korneuburg, near Vienna; a brief chapter on the Belgian beggars' colonies at Merxplas, Hoogstraeten, and Wortel affords material for comparison. The conclusion is that the Belgian experiments have failed owing to the fact that no trouble has been taken to differentiate the genuine unemployed worker from the work-shy, the vagrant, and the wastrel.

The book may be heartily recommended to all interested in the problems of the poor, and encourages us to hope that Miss Sellers will undertake a larger and more systematic work, in which her wide knowledge and observation may be utilised to their fullest extent.



